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231 [182] Cattle are used for meat, milk, hides, and traction. Bulls are kept for sacrificial purposes, since several forms of ritual require the sacrifice of a bull. They are never castrated, the same being true of horses and all other domestic animals.

Swine. The problem of the domestication of swine opens up the most difficult aspect of Riffian culture with which one has to deal. Riffians have kept and probably still do keep swine, but they are extraordinarily secretive about it. For some strange reason, they are as ashamed to discuss the matter with a Christian as with an Arab. The practice is as wrapped in secrecy as the witches' sabbat of the Middle Ages. Families which keep swine never bring them to market, never admit that they keep them, and take them out of the house before guests arrive.

Swine were formerly raised in most of the nuclear mountain area of the Rif — in Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and the Senhaja Sghir. A generation ago the people of Iherrushen and Ikhuanen of northern Gzennaya discontinued the practice, as the result of a pilgrimage to Mekka performed by one of their prominent men. Within the last six years swine have been kept at Inhanahan, in Gzennaya.

Whether swine are still owned anywhere in the Rif or Senhaja I cannot say, but I suspect that they are. They are not the descendants of any long-domesticated breed, but are bred from individuals caught in traps on the mountains; seldom does a litter have a domestic history of more than two or three generations. When all have been killed off, more are caught and bred. Thus swine domestication is, or was, either in an incipient stage or in the last stage of decadence. The animals are kept in the house, but are confined in a separate room, the door of which is closed at night. In the daytime they are taken out on the mountain slopes to feed on acorns and roots. When they are slaughtered, no *hallala* is performed.

Hens, happily, are kept openly, and present no such difficulties to the investigator as do swine. Their presence is manifest throughout the house and the courtyard, and especially on and about the refuse pile, which is located at some distance. [422] They are the exclusive property of the women, who sell them and their eggs independently of their husbands; they keep the money thus earned, but husbands have the right to demand a hen or two on the occasion of a guest's arrival. Widows who live alone often support themselves entirely by keeping hens, since persons charitably inclined buy them from widows by preference.

Bees provide an important article of local diet. The Riffians are expert in the art of caring for bees, building hives of basketry, wood, and cork. Sometimes hollow logs are used, and the scooped-out bases of yucca plants. The hives are usually kept in caves or in crannies in the cliffs above the villages. In the spring the bee farmer transports his swarm to new hives and removes what honey is left from the winter, since he does not take it out in the fall. Honey is separated from the wax and is kept in jars. Apiculture is most commonly practised in Gzennaya. In many parts of the Senhaja Sghir bees are not kept on account of the cold.

[463] Individual owners of bees do not as a rule care for their own hives, but put them in charge of a bee expert, who takes a previously agreed portion of the honey as his payment. There is generally but one such bee farmer in the village, although most of the families own at least one hive apiece.

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312 construction requires a great amount of skill. Where the sides of the valley are precipitous and rocky, the ditches are led around through olive logs hollowed out with the adze and supported by long wooden props; at times ditches are led even from one side of the valley to the other by means of these olive-wood troughs. The distribution of the *targa* coincides with that of *tikerathin*, or terraces, except in the lowland alluvial plains of Ajdir, Tiguisas, and other Mediterranean deltas, where irrigation is carried on without terraces. Irrigation is locally supposed to have been invented by the men of Iherrusben and Ikhuanen in the northern Gzennaya, and expert *targa* makers from these places are sent for to construct and repair ditches all over the Rif.

[463 465] *hassi*, the well. Wells are constructed by itinerant craftsmen from the region of the Draa, who wander about throughout the Rif seeking employment. They are never molested, since they are considered benefactors of mankind, and are paid well for their work. These men generally earn as much as twenty dollars for the construction of an average well, and find employment chiefly in flat arid country where there are no springs and where wells are a necessity.

241 735 476 **Communism in Agriculture.** The Riffians, living as they do close to the soil and often not distantly removed from the prospect of starvation, have developed several social devices whereby the poor may be prevented from perishing and the rich compelled partially to support them. These charitable practices are so ingrained that no one able to act as a benefactor to the poor would venture to criticise them in public or refuse to take part in them. They concern the three vegetable products which seem most deeply entwined with Riffian life: rye, grapes, and olives.

When a man wishes to sow rye on a mountain slope, he invites as many men as wish to do so to help him. Most men who have nothing else of importance to do accept the offer, and no one refuses without an adequate excuse. In this way a man of moderate means is assured of a plentiful crop of rye, to make up for his lack of other foodstuffs.

The crew works diligently from sunrise to sunset, after which they climb downhill to the house of the owner of the rye. The latter's womenfolk have meanwhile busied themselves preparing as ample a meal for the workers as the family's means will allow, and all eat and spend the evening together. If the family cannot provide very abundant rations, the workers seldom complain, since they consider their participation in the work as a form of charity, and their partaking of the food as a social gratification to the providers of it.

Similarly, in reaping season, anyone who wishes may come unbidden and help gather in the grain, whether it be rye, barley, or wheat, and is assured of an adequate meal at the end of the day in payment. In this way people who have finished their own work may be fed without drawing on their own supplies. Gleaning is left to the poor of the village.

241 476 If two farmers who own adjoining fields or terraces possess each but a single cow, they yoke these together and plough their land in common. No family is without a cow, and since ploughs are constructed by the farmers themselves, or by neighbors especially adept at the art, without payment, the situation of a man with land and no cow or plough does not arise.

241 312 Irrigation ditches which water the tillage of more than one man are subject to communal care. Each farmer is assigned a definite amount of water during each season when it is required, the amount depending on the amount of land requiring irrigation. The water is measured by days and half-days. Each season the farmer must send out a man for every

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unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been formed by the enlargement of *seins* descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*.

Beyond the *canton* one finds a still larger division, the *thakhamasth* (plural *thikhamasin*), or "fifth,"[1] so called because each *thakhamasth* in the tribe receives one fifth of the booty after a successful tribal war, and because tribes which are divided into *fifths* always contain five such divisions. This group again is dependent upon geography rather than upon blood, although many *bones* in the same *fifth*, even in different *cantons*, are allied by marriage and hence in war.

Beyond the *fifth* is the tribe, called *thakabilch*, a word derived from the Arabic *kabila*.[2] In most cases the tribe is equivalent to one *fifth*, and the latter word is not used, the term *thakabilch* being applied directly above *canton*. The tribes divided into five *fifths* are Galiya, Temsaman, Beni Urriaghel, and Gsennaya. Those of Galiya are Masuza, Ait Shisher, Beni Bu Yafer, Beni Bu Ifrur, and Beni Sidel. Those of Beni Urriaghel are Aith Yusuf u Ari, Aith Abdullah, Aith Ari, Imrabten, and Beni Bu Ayesh. Those of Gsennaya are Beni Yunes, Beni Asem, Beni Mohammed, Imadurar, and Asht Aru u Aissa. In naming these *fifths* I have given the names most commonly known to the outside world, Berber or Arab as the case may be. In Temsaman there are really but two actual *fifths*, Truguth and Hathith n Temsaman. The other three so-called *fifths* are merely combinations of two *bones* each, classed in pairs for the sole purpose of dividing spoils. These are Asht Daud and Sidi Shaib u Ftah, Bu Thinar and Oshannen, and Amsauru and Tizi Azza. They are given this special standing because Temsaman is too powerful to be relegated to the position of a single *fifth*, and because these *bones* are able to support their position by arms.

SOCIAL CLASSES

The Riffians, democratic as they are, nevertheless distinguish several social classes between which marriage is forbidden. The vast body of Riffians, whether descended from old Riffian stock, from Senhaja, Zenata, or Igharbiyen, consider themselves socially more or less equal, and do not hesitate, when exogamy is desirable for purposes of alliance, to take wives from other *bones*. Yet there is a definite lower class, considered to be not only immigrant but Negroid as well, with which alliances are, in some tribes (Gsennaya, Beni Amart, Beni Urriaghel, and Temsaman), strictly forbidden, and in others are followed by the social debasement of the Riffian marrying among them. These are the so-called *imasilen* (singular *amazil*) or "Shameless Ones,"[3] who carry on the three hereditary trades of blacksmithing, piping at weddings, and acting as public criers, measurers and weighers in markets. All these trades require a degree of publicity, of self-exposure in crowds — and since the Riffian

[1] The literal translation, "fifth," applies so well here that I have retained it. Most authorities call this division a "fraction," but the latter term is frequently confused in meaning, being also given as an equivalent for *arba'*, and not carrying with it a clear picture of what particular sub-division of the tribe is meant.

[2] Here the word "tribe" forms a sufficiently exact equivalent.

[3] The chief quality of this class, which the Riffians always mention first in describing them, is their lack of shame. Hence the term "Shameless Ones" will be used throughout to designate them.

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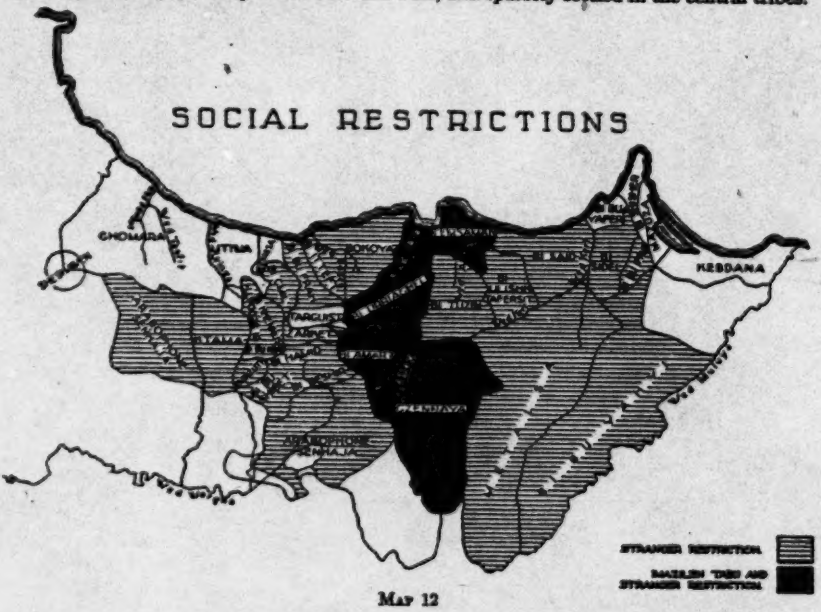
is as a rule extremely modest, and considers it degrading to expose himself to the public eye in any but a governmental way, it is only natural that he should look down upon a social class which practices trades that he himself would be ashamed to undertake, despite the fact that these trades might require greater intelligence and skill than his own manner of living.

Blacksmiths are traditionally an invading, or one should perhaps rather say infiltering, group, concentrated today in the east and west, and sparsely settled in the central tribes.



Map 12

The chief centers of blacksmith families are Azgangen in Beni Bu Ifrur, Imasinen in Mazuza, Mauru in Beni Said, Anual in Beni Ulishk, Tafersit town, Tisera n Jkhatha and Bu Hfora of Beni Tuzin, Khebaba, on the eastern edge of Gzennaya, Tarosht in Iherrushen of Gzennaya, Beni Msita and Ijaonen of Beni Amart, el Malimin of Targuist, Beni Mesduy, Snada of Beni Bu Frah, Garmaleth of Zarket, Tamadith of Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Berber, Aghbal of Beni Bu Shibet, and Tezarin, on the border between Beni Amart and Beni Beshir.

Only four centers were attributed to the tribes of Gzennaya and Beni Amart (two to each), and none to Beni Urriaghel. The smiths of Khebaba, makers of the famous Khebaba knives, and of Tarosht have been in the country so long that no one remembers whence they came. They are thought to antedate entirely the smiths who live in the regions to the east and west of them. The smiths of Beni Msita and Ijaonen, belonging to one family

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565 called the Ulad el Hani, claim Arab origin, although they are plainly Negroid, and speak
563 Arabic domestically, employing *themazighth* only with outsiders. They are at present con-
463 sidered the best smiths in the Rif.

While the four groups of smiths just mentioned are all sedentary, the smiths to the east and the west are often journeymen, going in winter to the encampments of Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who have no local craftsmen, and to villages of Beni Urriaghel, Gaennaya, and Beni Amart to set up shop. These immigrant smiths are distinguished from the local ones of long standing by the fact that they send home for their women and keep up a permanent connection with their home bases. They are considered by the villagers as temporary residents.

All the smiths, both sedentary and itinerant, have certain tasks and duties. They must go to Melilla or to Fes from time to time to buy iron. This gives them an opportunity to see something of the outside world and to become more sophisticated than most of their social superiors. They go to markets, in which they set up shop and shoe horses and mules brought to them; they are given complete charge of the secular slaughtering of domestic animals.

565 At this point a distinction might be made between the various types of slaughtering.
563 Although the technique is the same in all cases, except with wild animals killed in hunting,
463 the sentiment differs widely. Sacrificing, or killing an animal at a religious feast, at a house-
554 building, or as an act of magical compulsion in warfare, is an honorable task and must not
782 be performed by one of the Shameless Ones. This is the duty of the father of the household, the head of the *vein*, or of the schoolmaster of the *bone*, according to how large a group is concerned. It is highly desirable in any case that it be done by a literate man. The flaying and cutting up of game is subject to no restrictions as to person, the hunter usually doing it himself. The slaughtering and flaying of domestic animals for consumption alone, without religious or magical connotation, is considered a shameful and unclean task, to be performed by a man of good standing only when he cannot find one of the Shameless Ones to do it for him.

565 Pipers,[1] or *imṯhiyasen* (singular *amṯhiyaz*), play upon the *zammar*, a reed instrument
463 consisting of double pipes of cane, with numerous stops and with a fixed bass, and ending
534 in the horns of the aoudad. They are as debased as the smiths, if not more so. The pipers are concentrated at Sidi Bu Daud and Sidi Shaib of Temsaman, Bu Hfora and Meidhar of Beni Tuzin, Ighza Urieri and Mauru of Beni Said, Anual and Sidi Misaud of Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Nador, Azgangen, and Suk el Arbaa of Beni Sidel.

565 They wander over a wide territory, playing at weddings and other festivals. The area
463 covered by them in pursuit of trade may be seen on the map entitled Marriage Traits No. 2 (p. 137); under the topic of weddings[2] their functions will be discussed more fully. Their social position is if anything lower than that of the blacksmiths, and whereas the latter are sometimes trusted and in a way respected, musicians never are. Neither are allowed any part in the government.

Market Criers[3] and **Weighers**, *iberraḥen* (singular *aberraḥ*) and *ishayairen* (singular *ashayair*), who form the third class of Shameless Ones, both come from the same families,

[1] So translated here because of their profession. [2] See below, p. 138 seq.

[3] The ordinary meaning is "public criers." I have given them the English equivalent "market criers" because the market is their seat of operation.

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565 from the villages of Ifergugen and Ibettoyen of the Beni Tuzin. They wander all over the Rif, establishing themselves temporarily near markets, in which they perform their duties. 463 There is one of each profession settled within convenient distance of each circle of markets in each tribe or group of tribes. Being strictly endogamous, they send home to Ifergugen and Ibettoyen for their women; they cannot even intermarry with other Shameless Ones.

554 Although agriculture is considered the most dignified and worthy of occupations, skilled trades such as those of carpenter, weaver (where weaving is done by men), gunsmith, powder-maker, and professional mason are not despised. A man plying one of these trades does not ostracise his family by so doing, or prevent his daughters from marrying into good families. Such trades are not hereditary as are the occupations of the despised castes.

563 The social position of the Jews is not comparable to that of any other group living in the Rif. The Jews, while living in the places settled by them, such as Galiya and Beni Bu Frah, form distinct colonies which in the past were not often molested. Jews going into other regions could formerly do so only under the protection of some important man in that place. The patron of the Jew considered the Jew as his bondsman or slave, while the Jew regarded the contract as merely a commercial one. The Jew was allowed to work at some trade, but must turn his receipts in to his patron, who gave him his food and lodging and a certain amount of money besides. The patron was held responsible for the Jew's safety and protected him against aggressors. Even under this type of contract Jews were able to enter only such marginal regions as Jebarna of Gzennaya, Ajdir, and, under the aegis of the Ikhemrijen, Targuist. They would not venture, in recent times at least, into the mountains of southern Beni Urriaghel, into northern Gzennaya, or into Beni Amart. For one to do so would have resulted in his death. The Riffians, in common with other Mohammedans, consider it a desecration of gunpowder to shoot Jews, killing them only with stones and knives. Since the Spanish and French occupations the rôle of the Jew has of course changed. He is at present allowed to go to markets to trade, and is not ordinarily molested.

567 Negro slaves are so rare in the Rif that it can almost be said that Riffians do not recognise the existence of slavery. The Ikhemrijen of Targuist have several, and one is owned in Ajdir. There may be others, but I have not seen or heard of them.

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The butchers are relegated to a position as far removed from the rest of the market as possible, on account of the malodorous nature of their wares. If there is a stream in or near the market, the butchers are put on the other side of the stream from the rest. Farmers bring in cattle, sheep, and goats, and turn over the animals to the butchers, who are blacksmiths on other days of the week, or are members of the families of blacksmiths. After the butchers have slaughtered the animals, washed the blood from their throats, inflated their skins, flayed, and quartered them, the owners of the animals hang the meat on wooden racks permanently fixed to trees or posts nearby, where they are thus exposed for sale. Quarters of goat and sheep must have the hoofs and a portion of the adjoining skin left on so that customers can tell the difference between them. The butcher is paid for his work with a portion of the meat, with money, or with the hide, head, and entrails, which are the most common reward.

The meat market is the assembling place of all of the dogs in the *canton* which are able to get there, dozens of them waiting expectantly nearby each time an animal is slaughtered. They often snatch ends of intestine as the animal is being cleaned, and lap up eagerly the rills of blood flowing down towards the stream.

The butchering duties of the blacksmiths are not confined to the market. Whenever members of a *bone* together buy a cow or bull for the meat, the butcher is called in to slaughter it. The portions are divided equally among the married men, who must pay for their pieces before they can have them. A portion is sent up to the mosque of the *canton* for the students in it, and the blacksmith receives his portion as reward for his work.

Returning to the market, we find two other social outcasts at work, the market crier and the official weigher or measurer.[1] These are hired by the councillors, and carry on their functions as official appointees, but disputes arising from the work of the weigher or measurer are carried before the councillors. They work in as many markets as there are days in the week, except of course Friday, and providing that each market is within walking distance of their homes and that the councillors of each are willing to hire them.

Women's markets. In a number of *cantons* there is in addition to the regular market another devoted to women. All men are excluded from it, and are severely punished if they enter. It is commanded by a woman appointed by the councillors of the *canton*. In it the women sell, besides the fruits, vegetables, hens, eggs, and pottery which they dispense at the regular market, magico-medical materials which are supposed to act as contraceptives and to produce abortions. The sale and possession of these is kept secret from the men because the use of them is considered ample reason for divorce. Sometimes a woman who fails to bear children within a reasonable time after marriage is accused, on general suspicion, of using them and is divorced.

Boy Markets. In the Jebala, markets were formerly held in which boys stolen from their families were sold, to be used as apprentices by wandering musicians and as companions by ordinary individuals. They were and still are kept by their purchasers for the purpose of sodomy, and other uses to which these children are put are made secondary to it. When they have grown to an age at which they cease to interest their purchasers sexually they are released and allowed to earn their own living.

The market el Had Ikauen of Ktama was a famous boy market, and was not closed until the advent of the Spanish forces of occupation, who have been trying to prevent such

[1] See p. 92. For comment on this, see the 111 slip.—Analyst

today for finding out the volume of a social group is the list of nubath or turns to provide food for the fqih. It is more constant than an enumeration of houses or guns[73] or persons, which is more subject to variation. But it must also be remembered that there are two kinds of turns: those based on hearths, and those based on plows and animals to pull them. In some areas, one type is used, and in others, the other.....The notion, however, of the Friday mosque as a defining and anchoring characteristic of the jma'th is not bad, and as such, it may be compared to the Spanish parish (parroqu'a)--but only in the sense of members of different dharfiqin coming to prayer. This applies even if the mosque in question serves only as an individual place of prayer for a well-to-do family, and not as a common temple.[74]

The etymological definition of jma'th, "meeting, reunion, convocation" is in itself insufficient also, as it is too general.

2) Function of the Jma'th (understood again as council): Economic. It regulates services in common, i.e. use of water, pasture land, ghabth (brushwood) and communal lands, and, by extension, social relations (hospitality, benefits) and spiritual relations (funeral services). Custom which is privately initiated in the kin group now becomes public by acting as a yardstick in such relationships, and it is in the qanuns[75] of the jma'ths where the first rudiments of Rifian customary law appear. This law is both more elevated and more humane than that of the dharfiqth, which is purely one of reprisal.

In most jma'ths, industry and specialization is represented only by a master blacksmith, aside from women who make pottery by hand; on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these necessities are complemented.

c) the aith(th)arba'in, or "people of the forty"[107], delegates representing the clan in the tribal council or agrau, which convened when circumstances required it (danger external to the clan or to the tribe, or murder). In theory, there were eight delegates from each khums (in tribes, which, like Aith Aryaghar were divided into five khmas), but they were given the same name even if they totaled less than forty.[108]

d) the amghar n-suq, or "market chief"[109], a person who by virtue of his position or energy took care, with his kinsmen, of policing the market, of small incidents which might occur within it, etc.

e) the abarrah, or market crier.[110]

f) the amarras, or silo guardian (in the Eastern Rif only).

G) Free Professions (fragmentary):

a) Low Class Public Functionaries: criers and weighers in markets.

b) Free Professions: merchants, healers, weavers, carpenters and masons.

c) Lowest Scale: musicians and dancers.[111]

d) Ibarudiyen: real imqqranen, possibly the most highly regarded ones in the tribe. Invited to feasts, they enacted scenes of war. Generally, two of them faced each other and improvised dialogue, while firing off their rifles[112]. These ibarudiyen were the Rifian counterpart of dramatic actors; and even in this simple detail of lack of

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organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

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We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

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000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, [241] the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily [231] on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, [224] partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, [226] and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous [565] and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren [463] (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[178] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the [294] national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves [286] and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men [114] are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

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[114] 43--There are several errors here. First of all, the oath formula is not as Blanco gives it at all, but Billahi alladhi la ilaha illa huwa, as discussed in note 50. Secondly, this is the recognized formula for oaths as given in the Shari'a, and as such, the Arab formula as well. Thirdly, although it is quite true that oaths are as important among Arabs as they are among Berbers, the Prophet Muhammad, in effect, "decollectivized" them among his Hijazi constituents much as 'Abd al-Krim did among Rifians--for the collective oath, far from being an exclusively "Berber" institution, was current in pre-Islamic Arabia. Blanco fails to distinguish between the singular character of the Shari'a oath and the plural character of the oaths of certain nominally Muslim societies whom the Shari'a, in some respects, has not quite reached.

44--This is in no way remarkable, for it is up to the plaintiff not only to demand that the accused take oath, but to stipulate when, where and with how many of his agnates.

45--Men certainly swear during the day, in fact on Fridays just before noon; but women did not swear during the 'Ripublik', although today they may do so. However, they must do so not at night but during the day, and at home, not in the mosque, although their oaths, like those of men, must be made on the mushaf.

• [463] 46--A Jew accused of a crime against a Muslim or against a coreligionist was, indeed, forced to walk around the market with a packsaddle on his back, and to swear in this fashion, for packsaddle-making and silversmithing are the two traditional occupations of Jews in northern Morocco; but he took the oath itself in the synagogue.

47--There were no jails in the Rif until 'Abd al-Krim introduced them; he had three, at Ajdir, at Aith Qamra and at Thmasind, all in the Aith Waryaghar.

48--The Koranic sirat al-mustaqim, as given in the Surat al-Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Muslim Book.

[178] 49--This is true, but not quite for the reasons given. Women in the Aith Waryaghar have their own markets in order to keep them secluded from strange men and because it is shameful for them, and indeed forbidden (although this is beginning to break down today) for them to enter ordinary markets. The same goes for their "feasts": they visit [165] saints' tombs and cemeteries on Sundays, as a rule, when they know no men will be there.

[114] 50--This is a contradiction in terms. If Berber law admits bloodvengeance (which is in any case excessively common in the Rif), why does it not admit talion?

[114] 51--Again, a contradiction in terms. If the death penalty is admitted, as Blanco says, why not capital punishment? In actual fact, although murder and feuding were the rule, the death penalty per se was rare: the only instance I can think of (outside of cases in which it was inflicted by 'Abd al-Krim during the Rifian War, and administered by his huffadh or personal bodyguard, who tied the offender backwards on a donkey, paraded him around the market three times while the crier made his crime public, and then stood him up against the wall and shot him) is that in which a man kills another in a market and is caught by the

of whom there are still a few[114]. In the business, he represents the industrial member and as such he has a right to part of the profits[115], because of the fact that the fishing equipment is also ordinarily his property; and he has the right to appoint a master, the technical director of the business, whose obligations are limited to the maintenance and renovation of the equipment and to fishing. He may transfer the business voluntarily, taking back the equipment, either to sell it or simply to leave it grounded, even though the season may not be over. The construction of a covered shelter for the boats on the beach is his responsibility.

B) The Crew:

The master (ra'is) of the boat, appointed by the owner[116]...., is the technical director of the business and he is therefore responsible for any property damages or injuries which can be justified, if they can be imputed to his unskillfulness or ill-will. He is given a free hand to select, appoint and discharge the individuals who have to make up his crew, of which he is the head, without the necessity of the consent of the owner; he is in charge of the selection of points of putting down the nets, fishing, embarkation and disembarkation, admission of merchandise and passengers, selection of shelters, collection of money, auctions and the responsibility for settlement of accounts; and while on board he is authorized to impose discipline by any means in extreme and necessary cases, and he must show the owner any necessary repairs or acquisitions which fall under his inspection. He is principally in charge of the working of the boat, and it is he who sets the course of direction. He appoints a second-in-command.

000 here. We have never seen or heard of them.

[463] [396] 114--There was a master boatbuilder who lived on the beach of Aith Bu Dawud in the Thimsaman, none in the Aith Waryaghar. He had no helpers in 1954, and got 500 pesetas and his food from future boat owners for building a boat.

115--The usual arrangement in this case is that the profits are split in half, one-half for the owner of the boat and the other half for the ra'is and the crew.

501 463 226 116--Each boat has a ra'is and a crew of four or five men. Sometimes, though rarely, the owner of the boat will be a different individual altogether; more often, however, the ra'is himself is the owner. It is also common for three or four fishermen to go shares on the price of an agharrabu or moruna (another common fishing boat of the same type, but smaller and of Spanish make), and they elect the most capable among them to be ra'is. If, for instance, there is a ra'is and a crew of four, the money from the sale of the catch is split six ways, the ra'is getting two parts. Before any division is made, however, 15-25 pesetas are given to the mule and donkey men who transport the fish to the tribal markets, while small boys who help pull the nets ashore receive one or two kilos of the catch.

[434]

226 The mouth of the Nkur River, emptying into the Mediterranean on the eastern side of the Plain of Al-Husaima, is an ideal place to fish, particularly in the area around Swani (Thimsaman). A boat takes the net (dhrarsha) out, leaving one of two ropes on the beach in the hands of a number of men or boys. When it has reached the end of the rope length, the net is let out in a semi-circle, with curled up ends, resembling a snail. The boat is then rowed back to shore, and the other rope then handed out to a second group of men and boys, as far away from the first rope as possible. When fish begin to collect in any quantity, each group starts pulling in on the ropes, lessening the distance between them as they do so. If the catch promises to be big, the agharrabu goes out again, to be rowed in behind the net in case of trouble. The site of the net is determined by the crew, who know where the fish are by watching places where birds dive into the water. After the net is hauled up on the beach, the crowd rushes out to scoop up the still leaping fish into baskets. They are put on a common pile in the sand, and the division of the catch begins. During the season, boats go out twice a day, in mornings and afternoons. Late summer is the heaviest season, and the ra'is and crew sleep and eat on the beach. They always have to be on the lookout for breaks in the nets and for fish which enter. At other times of year, after laying the nets out to dry, all go home and return in the morning; but with morunas, one person is always there, day or night, as a guard.

000 117--Capt. Gardiner was an English adventurer who ran guns to 'Abd al-Krim during the Rifian War; and Si l-Hadi n Dadi, of the lineage of Thighanimin, subclan of Izimurren, clan of Izimmuren, tribe of Ibuqquyen, still lives in Alhucemas (1961). During the Rifian War, in 1924, 'Abd al-Krim sent him to Paris with Si Muhand Uzarqan, the Rifian Foreign Minister, to try to preserve good relations with the French (which were broken when 'Abd al-Krim invaded the French Zone of Morocco the following year). After the war, Si l-Hadi eventually became, under the Spaniards, khalifa to the pasha of Al-Husaima, then known as Villa Sanjurjo.

585 On the day before the bride goes from her home to the home of the groom's father, and after the procession collecting the grama has occurred, celebrations are held in the homes of both [574] the bride and the groom. Patri- and matrilineal kinsmen as well as friends are invited to each house. If the marriage is between related persons, the kinsmen go to the house of the person with whom they have the closest connection either in terms of nearness [582] of kinship, friendship, or both. Since marriage for the majority of the fellah occur in a close community and often with relatives, the parties are often held in adjoining houses or at least in quite nearby places. In such cases the guests often move from one party to another. The ceremony which takes place at the bride's house is also financed by the groom's family, who send over the necessary animals, bread, oil, and so forth. At the bride's house her girlhood friends dance and sing in the patio [302] for the entertainment of the ensemble. The bride's hands are [431] painted with henna during a ceremony in which each of her girl friends and older female relatives gives her a small gift (grama).

585 At the groom's house a similar ceremony takes place. If 533 the father is wealthy, or even if poor but with sufficient social 463 credit, he will hire professional musicians who play, sing and [464] dance at the home of the groom on this night and the following [465] one. These musicians, who receive $20 to $40 for the celebration, also take up contributions from the assembled guests. There is [619] a tribal fraction in the Beni Tuzin who, for obscure reasons, have taken up this occupation as their professional speciality.

443 438 occasion is some indication of the poverty of the land in which they live.

Throughout the year there are long rows of hardware and spice booths where a wide variety of non-indigenous products are sold, including cakes of soap, toothpaste, mirrors, nails, locks, cooking utensils, drinking glasses, matches, and plastic jewelry. [263] The spices include red pepper, paprika, black pepper kernels, stick cinnamon, curry, and saffron. Off in another section are men selling blankets, rugs, and clothing, both new and old. [291] [197] While men can buy both Western and traditional clothes, the only type of dress available for women is traditional. It is perhaps fortunate that the native dress is so loose-fitting, since the men purchase these garments for their wives with only the roughest notion of sizes. There are also people selling [372] [373] articles made from cane or palmetto--brooms, baskets, and so forth, as well as vendors of kerosene, the only source of light for the fellah. Outside the market is a specially walled-off area, the livestock market; there cows, goats, and sheep are sold. Some of these are bought directly by the butchers who prepare the meat for immediate sale; others are sold to merchants who transport the animals to the richer province of Nader where they are fattened for resale.

443 445 463 231 In addition to these merchants, there are people who have a service to sell. Included in these are the butchers, who are perhaps the most prominent of this group in that they handle the largest volume of business. They arrive early at the market,

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tamazight for
463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Riffians
(556) to kill an animal for meat unless there is a special social
occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides
the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
(735) the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
443 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
(265) of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
(785) and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
(796) market group most severely affected by the religious month of
Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is pro-
hibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
445 services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
565 and weighers of grain, form a special social class of imziren,
or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary,
are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought
to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are
wandering about from market to market in search of a living.
445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the imziren)
565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since
loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is
plausible. On the other hand, some imziren musicians with whom